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TRANSLATIONS ON USSR POLITICAL
AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS
(FOUO 1/79)

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CONTENTS	PAGE
Kudryavtsev Discusses Legislation Under New Constitution (V.N. Kudryavtsev; SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, Sep 78)...	1
Repatriation of Ethnic Germans From USSR Declines (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 14 Dec 78)	11
Book Discusses Soviet Thought on Eastern World (A.B. Belen'kiy, L.R. Polonskaya; SOVREMENNY NATSIONALISM I OBSHCHESTVENNOYE RAZVITIYE ZARUBEZHNOGO VOSTOKA, 1978).....	13
Gvishiani Reviews Work of International Institute of Applied Systems (Ye. B. Etingof; BUDUSHCHEYE NAUKI, 1978)	27

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KUDRYAVTSEV DISCUSSES LEGISLATION UNDER NEW CONSTITUTION

Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 9, Sep 78 pp 133-139

[Article by V. N. Kudryavtsev, Director of the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences USSR, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences USSR: "Important Problems of Scientific Research in the Light of the New Constitution of the USSR"]

[Text] The year which has passed since the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR has very clearly demonstrated the great historical importance of this document. In our country the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics were adopted on its basis, and a vast amount of work has developed to prepare new legislative acts and improve the existing legislation and to bring about the practical implementation of the ideas and theses of the country's Basic Law. The communist and workers' parties of foreign countries and progressive-minded people on all continents have perceived and taken the measure of the new Soviet Constitution as a vivid example of a genuinely democratic Basic Law which has solidified the great accomplishments of socialism and mapped out the ways toward a gradual transition to a communist society. The Constitution of the USSR has appeared before the entire world as a model of creative Marxism and an embodiment of genuine popular power and socialist democracy.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the 1977 Constitution of the USSR for the development of Soviet legal science and practice. Its role is manifold: the constitution defines the ways of improving the Soviet political system, consolidates and develops the basic ideas and principles of the most important branches of the law, and lays the foundation for the development of the theory of the Soviet state and law along a number of new scientific directions. Finally, it contains concrete solutions of a number of important legal problems which in the past have been debatable. Let us consider certain directions of scientific research which in the light of the new constitutional legislation are very topical.

The development of a general theory of state and law. One of the most important political and legal ideas of the Constitution is the idea of the

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constant growth of the role of law and legality in the society of developed socialism. Socialist legality is proclaimed in the Constitution of the USSR as the principle of the functioning of the Soviet state and all of its agencies, and also of public organizations (Article Four); and a strengthening of the legal basis of state and public life is cited as one of the chief directions of the development of the Soviet political system (Article Nine). This attention to the issues of law and legality is not accidental. The 1977 Constitution of the USSR has reflected a general historical regularity which is characteristic of socialist society: a consistent strengthening of the role of law, legal regulation, and legality as the method of the state administration of society, and an increase in their social value. This regularity reflects the profound political, economic, social, psychological, and other changes which have been and are occurring in our society during the process of the construction of mature socialism and communism. They are also conditioned by the scientific and technological revolution.

The increased complexity of economic processes and social interrelations, their increased dynamism, and the need for a clearer regulation which follows from this not only of production work but also of other spheres of social life; the widening of communications between people; and an essential increase in the social activeness of the workers and of the degree of their participation in discussing and deciding state and public affairs -- all of this naturally leads to a growth in the organizing role of social norms, including the norms of socialist law. New fields of legal regulation (environmental protection, space, social planning, demographic processes) arise, as do new overall problems on the edge of various fields of law; a differentiation of legal norms and, then, their integration on different bases occur; there are changes in the relationships between the methods of persuasion and coercion, the limits of the permitted and the prohibited, and punishment and preventive means; the forms and means of the legal regulation of social relations are improved and in a number of cases they are replaced by the influence of the norms of morality and socialist traditions; and wider and wider use is made of information and computer equipment in the sphere of the application of the law. All of this raises a number of new problems for science, above all, in the field of the general theory of state and law. At the same time, certain traditional problems are moved onto a different plane and receive a new solution.

One of the central problems which is of fundamental scientific importance is a definition of the developmental prospects of the entire socialist legal superstructure. In and of itself this problem is not new. Soviet legal scholars and practitioners are constantly working on an improvement of the legislation and the practice of its application, on increasing the effectiveness of the work of legal institutions, and on developing the legal consciousness of the population. In the light of the Constitution of the USSR, this task now appears as an overall, many-sided, and internally interconnected one which has a long range perspective. Three of its aspects merit attention. One of them consists of a necessity for a

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harmonious and interconnected development of all of the elements of the legal superstructure of contemporary socialist society: of the law, practice of its application by state agencies, and the legal consciousness and legal culture of officials and citizens.

With the adoption of the 1977 USSR Constitution the process of legal creation has become seriously activated. It is now at the center of the attention of legal scholars and practitioners. At the same time, it is important on the basis of the renewal of the legislation which is now being carried out and which will continue to be in the next few years and, along side it, to devote especial attention to improving the practice of the application of the law which to a certain extent is lagging behind the demands which are being made by the new laws. We still have a few scientific recommendations on the issues of the optimal organization and functioning of the agencies which apply the law. There is a need for a scientific development of the ways and means of further raising the legal consciousness and legal culture of the officials who apply the law and of bringing them close to the high level of legal ideology which is reflected in the new Constitution of the USSR and in the legislation being created on its basis. The ideas concerning the criteria, conditions, and indicators of the effectiveness of the operation of the individual institutions and norms of socialist law which have been formulated in Soviet legal science have been insufficiently developed and realized. Good laws have to be correctly applied, and this requires the development and improvement of all of the elements of the legal structure in their totality and interconnections.

The sharply felt need for a systematic understanding of the mechanism of the legal regulation of social relations is being reflected in the discussions of the concept of law. The previously formed concept of Soviet law as a system of norms which are established or sanctioned by the state does not, in the opinion of certain writers, fully cover the other parts and elements of the legal superstructure: it does not reflect the place and functions of legal relations, legal consciousness, legal ideology, and the practice of the application of law. Meanwhile, the latter is increasingly attracting the attention of both scholars and practitioners who are directing their efforts toward achieving a "final product" for the action of law -- the optimal regulation of social relations. Nor does this definition satisfy those who are striving to discover the objective basis of the formation of legal norms on the basis of socio-economic and other social laws and to overcome voluntaristic errors in the creation of norms.

The development of the concept of law and successfully bringing it into correspondence with the modern understanding of the processes of the creation and application of law -- is a difficult task whose accomplishment, in our view, cannot be reached through a rejection of the chief element of the legal superstructure -- the norms (rules) of human behavior

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which are sanctioned by the state. A mechanical expansion of this definition by means of adding to it other elements of the legal superstructure would be hardly productive. Law is undoubtedly a normative system, and it is inseparably bound up with the state. However, this connection is complex and multi-faceted, and the very normative nature of law springs from no less complex social and psychological regularities. Therefore, Soviet legal science is faced with the responsible task of working out a developed conceptual apparatus which would be capable of characterizing both norms and relationships, both the socio-economic preconditions of the creation of norms and its ideological and psychological aspects, and both state sanctions and the role of the rules of socialist communal living in the actual implementation of legal prescriptions.

The problems of the structure and the concept of law are closely connected with the problem of its system. This is the second aspect of the above-named overall task. The practical divergence between systems of law and legislation became especially clear in the preparation of the design of the Code of Laws USSR at whose basis there was put a grouping of juridical norms and institutions which far from correspond to the traditional division of law into fields. It is clear that it is not possible to artificially make the systems approximate each other. Nor is a "compromise" solution -- a special mixing of these systems -- acceptable. The chief problem consists in seeking those scientifically substantiated criteria which have to be put at the basis of one or another system and in a clear demarkation of the criteria of the two systems. Can these criteria with regard to the system of legislation, to the spheres of social relations, and to the system of law be reduced to methods of legal regulation? What are the tendencies in the development of both systems? None of these questions have as yet found a satisfactory answer in science. Yet, they are not only of theoretical importance, but also have great practical applications. As is known, a great deal of work is now being done on preparing a Code of Laws of the USSR and republic Codes of Laws, a number of present legislative acts will have to be renewed and new ones created, and a long-term program of legislative work is being worked out for the 1990's and the decade beyond. All of these documents have to contain solutions, first of all, of the problems of system.

The scientific problems connected with the long-term forecasting and planning of future legislative work should be classified as the third aspect of the overall task of improving the political and legal superstructure of the society of developed socialism. Their solution presupposes a preliminary study of certain complex problems: for example, the marking off of the range of political relations which by the years 1990 and 2000 will be in need of legal regulation; the forecasting of the changes in the forms and methods of legal regulation and in the structure and activities of state agencies; a definition of the concrete problems which are subject to a state-legal solution and the development of the institutions capable of

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ensuring this solution; and the establishment of the limits of the legal sphere which separate it from the sphere of the norms of a moral, social, and technical character. It is not difficult to see that this vast range of scientific problems (they could be called problems of legal policy) is such that to study it will necessitate the closest cooperation between legal experts and sociologists, economists, psychologists, and specialists from other sciences.

The above-named problems are chiefly related to the future. But a number of scientific problems are already arising today which are demanding a immediate and intensive development. They include, above all, the problems of current norm creation.

The role of science in the improvement of legislation. The 1977 USSR Constitution is based on the renewal of legislation which has been performed in recent decades and is, as it were, the crowning point of what has been accomplished in this respect. At the same time, it serves as a basis for a further large amount of legislative work. During the next several years it will be necessary to realize the extensive legislative program which was adopted on 12 December 1977 by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR. This program is designed for a consistent renewal of legislation in connection with the new Constitution of the USSR and on its basis.¹ The participation of Soviet legal scholars in this work must not have only an applied and practical scientific significance. It is important for there to be a timely and profound study of the fundamental problems which are essential for the creation of the new laws and a development of the legal conceptions which have to lay at their basis. It is precisely in this way that Soviet legal science is able to provide the most effective assistance to practice.

The new legislation which is being prepared on the basis of the 1977 Constitution of the USSR concerns all of the basic spheres of the activity of Soviet society -- the political system, the economic system, the field of social policy, the relationships between the state and the individual, and so forth. The main direction in the development of the legislation is in the political sphere -- a further improvement of socialist democracy. This is emphasized in the documents of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and in the 1977 Constitution of the USSR (Article Nine) as one of the laws of our entire state and social development. We are speaking about an increased role for the Soviets, and expansion of the rights and freedoms of citizens, and increased activity by them in the socio-political sphere. "Our party," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "has shown and will continue to show constant concern for the fact that the workers not simply possess the possibilities of participating in the management of society which are provided them by the constitution, but take actual and real part in it."²

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One of the aspects of the development of Soviet democracy is the increased role of workers' collectives. The Constitution of the USSR grants collectives extensive rights in the management of production and in deciding state and public affairs. The task now is to consolidate the "mechanism" for the realization of the authority of workers' collective in all of the spheres of the economy, culture, and social life. Certain authorities of the workers' collectives which are stipulated by the Constitution of the USSR go beyond the framework of their immediate production interests. The forms of their realization have not yet found a legislative solution and have been insufficiently worked out in the theory of state, management, and law. Participation in the preparation of a draft of a legislative act on the laws of workers' collectives is an important task for Soviet legal experts, economists, sociologists, and psychologists. At the July 1978 Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR two new legislative acts were adopted which relate to the political system -- the Law on the Council of Ministers USSR and the Law on the Elections to the Supreme Soviet USSR. Their adoption was a new stage in Soviet state construction and a step forward toward strengthening the Soviet representational system and the apparatus of state administration. But this is not all there is to the development of the legal acts which regulate the activities of the various elements of the Soviet political system. On the agenda is the preparation of laws on the kray, oblast, and okrug Soviets of People's Deputies, on the procedure for considering and carrying out the orders of voters, and others.

Delivering the concluding speech at the Extraordinary Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR (Ninth Convocation) L. I. Brezhnev said: "A great deal of work will have to be done in the field of developing legislation on the agencies of administration." An important direction of scientific investigation is the development of an optimal system of agencies of state administration and of their interrelations in connection with an overall solution of interbranch and territorial problems, of the tasks and functions of the agencies of people's control, and also of the forms through which the state apparatus takes account of public opinion which is mentioned in article nine of the Constitution of the USSR.

Of great importance is an improvement of legislation in the socio-economic sphere for which the new Constitution of the USSR is a legislative base. "Thought has to be given as a whole as to how best to reflect in legislation the measures mapped out by the 25th Congress of our Party to improve the methods of economic management...", said L. I. Brezhnev. A most important scientific task is an improvement of the legal forms of managing industry and agriculture, of planning, capital construction, the distribution of resources, and also of the forms of individual labor activity and of control over its actualization.

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It is stated in the preamble to the Constitution of the USSR that in a developed socialist society the workers make ever wider use of the fruits of great revolutionary gains. This proposition characterizes not only that which has been achieved by Soviet society today: it is also designed for the future. From this point of view it is necessary to analyze the tasks which face Soviet legal science in the field of the regulation of socio-economic development. The 1977 USSR Constitution outlined and consolidated in law a vast program of social development. It is emphasized in it that "the state promotes a strengthening of the social homogeneity of society -- the eradication of class differences, of essential differences between town and country and between intellectual and physical labor, and the comprehensive development and drawing together of all of the nations and nationalities of the USSR." (Article Nineteen) The above task will undoubtedly be accomplished both by political, economic, and legal methods. In this connection the need exists to develop a future oriented conception as to which legal means and legal forms will promote its optimal solution.

It has to be recognized that when legal science analyzes social problems it mostly has the urban inhabitant in mind. At the same time, rural areas have their own specific legal problems, and the constitution devotes a number of norms to them. The special characteristics of the legal status of the rural citizen have to be thoroughly analyzed, above all, in the direction of gradually bringing it closer to the status of the urban inhabitant. Of great importance in this connection are Articles Twenty-One, Twenty-Two, and Twenty-Three of the Constitution of the USSR which formulate a program for improving working conditions, increasing the real income of the workers, and transforming agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor, and also the materials of the July (1978) Plenum of the CC CPSU.

The plan for legislative work which was approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR on 12 December 1977 provides for the preparation of normative acts on the use and protection of the housing fund, the protection of the atmosphere, of the animal world, and so forth in whose creation a large role has to be played by civil law experts, labor experts, and specialists on legal environmental protection. The series of these acts of a socio-economic character should have added to them norms which regulate the status of scientific institutions, their relations with industry, the forms of introducing scientific recommendations, and others. The legal regulation of the questions which have to do with science as a definite sphere of social life follows directly from the Constitution of the USSR.

The 1977 Constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of the union and autonomous republics materially expand and strengthen the legal position of the individual. Many propositions of the Basic Law which have to do with the legal status of the citizen require a further detailization in current

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legislation. It will be necessary to make changes in the legislation on labor, on marriage and the family, on health care, on public education, on pensions, and so forth. Of great importance is the preparation of acts concerning the procedure for judicial complaints against the illegal actions of officials and compensation for the damage caused to the citizen by these actions. Of no less importance is a scientific development of the ways of improving the legal "mechanism" of the realization of the rights and legitimate interests of citizens and of the juridical guarantees for their legitimate actions. Connected with this is the scientific problem of protecting the individuality of the citizen and his interests against illegal encroachments, and also the problem of the responsibility of the individual to society.

Despite the substantial development in recent years of Soviet criminology, many of the problems facing it are still unsolved. Let us recall, for example, the development of a typology of the personality of the law violator, of effective measures of fighting against individual types of crime (theft, bribery, recidivist criminality, and others), and of methods of forecasting and preventing crime. A more general problem is an analysis of the reasons for and of the ways of preventing certain violations of law -- civil and administrative delicts, and also drunkenness and other deviations from the norms of socialist communal living. The bases for the development of these problems have already been created: studies of the sociology and social psychology of individual and group behavior, and the psychology of the personality of the law violator, which has been especially developed with regard to the behavior of minors.

In the field of the general theory of law there is a marked lagging in the development of the problems of the "mechanism" of the influence of law on human behavior: the conditions for the optimal assimilation by citizens of the demands of the law; the role of the special characteristics of the individual in legal and illegal behavior; and the effectiveness, depending upon the type of individual, of various methods of influence which prevent or stimulate one or another kind of behavior. In the society of developed socialism and of communism which is under construction the role of the individual consistently grows, and legal science has the task of developing "in an outstripping manner" the corresponding scientific problems here.

Legal science and the ideological struggle. The fact that legal science today has found itself in the front line of the ideological struggle has objective historical and sociological preconditions. The problems of the rights of man which is at the center of this struggle reflects above all the increased role of the popular masses in the modern world and their striving toward a just and democratic solution of acute social problems, and, on the other hand, the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to defend the main principle of capitalism -- private property and the ideology of individualism, nationalism, class and social inequality which is connected

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with it.

Soviet juridical science which is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology occupies solid and immoveable positions in this struggle. Our political-legal conception of the rights of man recognizes and affirms all of the democratic positions which have been won during the course of the historical development of human society. At the same time, it takes an essential step forward, emphasizing the importance of the liberation of man from exploitation and of ensuring genuine popular power as indispensable conditions for the freedom of the individual. And these conditions have really been achieved under socialism. Our country possesses the most progressive legislation which consolidates and guarantees the extensive socio-economic, political, and personal rights of Soviet citizens. It corresponds in full measure to the international documents which have been adopted in the field of the rights of man. "We have no reason to avoid a serious conversation on the rights of man," L. I. Brezhnev noted at the World Congress of Peace Fighters. "Our revolution and the victory of socialism in our country have not only proclaimed but have actually ensured the rights of the working man of any nationality and the rights of the millions of workers in a way that capitalism has not been able to do in a single country of the world."

In the sphere of the ideological struggle, in addition to spreading the truth among the workers of foreign countries about the Soviet legal system, science, and ideology, substantial work of a scientific research character will have to be done. It would be useful to follow the modifications of bourgeois propaganda with regard to the issue of the rights of man, and to reveal and unmask the methods used by it into order to falsify Soviet law and the practice of its application -- and this must be done with regard to the psychology and ideology of the foreign reader, radio listener, and television viewer. An analysis and unmasking of the methods of Maoist propaganda in the sphere of the ideological struggle with regard to the issues of democracy, state construction, and law is of specific scientific interest.

The dissemination of genuine, truthful information about the Soviet state and law and about our legal science plays and will play an enormous positive role in ensuring international cooperation between states which belong to different social systems. It would be useful in this connection to develop comparative legal studies through which scholars of different countries and broad circles of readers will find out about the legal systems of the present day and the theory and practice of the agencies of justice. All of this will promote greater trust among peoples and a strengthening of international law and order which, in its turn, fosters peaceful coexistence between states, a relaxation of international tensions, and the maintenance and preservation of peace on our planet.

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The first anniversary of the adoption of the 1977 Constitution of the USSR is a glorious date for the entire Soviet people. It obliges legal scholars and practitioners to perform creative work in order to achieve the fullest and most comprehensive implementation of the Constitution's propositions and to put them into the practice of communist construction.

FOOTNOTES

1. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNGOG SOVETA SSSR, No 51, 1977, p 764.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "On the USSR Constitution," 2nd Ed., Moscow, 1977, p 57.
3. Ibid., p 58.

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REPATRIATION OF ETHNIC GERMANS FROM USSR DECLINES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Dec 78 p 3

[Article signed Lgn.]

[Text] Nuremberg, 13 Dec--It seems as though the federal government has had to take some setbacks in its efforts toward the resettlement of Soviet citizens of German descent to the Federal Republic. Hopes generally linked to the Bonn visit by Soviet head of state and party chairman Brezhnev in early May this year obviously have not come true. While the resettler figures during the first 4 months of this year still allowed to assume a tendency of increase--in March, for example, 929 Russians of German origin were registered in the Friedland border-transit camp--they decreased to 657 in May and to 600 in June. The result improved once more in July when 825 resettlers came. But when 503 Russians of German origin arrived in the Federal Republic in August, the number of resettlements reached the tentatively lowest level of the year. In September, the border transit camp at Friedland had accommodated 530 resettlers from Russia and in October 573. With 533 resettlements in November finally, the quota dropped by nearly half in comparison with November 1977 (1,103).

The situation is termed particularly difficult in the Tadzhik and Kirgiz Soviet republics. This paper has learned from reliable sources that in these republics exit permits for which people of German descent often had been waiting for many years, in many cases have been annulled again since about early July. Utterances by the intelligence service as well as by the authorities competent for the resettlement indicate the reasons for the repressive actions. It is obviously difficult to fill with new personnel the gaps caused to many production enterprises by resettlements to the Federal Republic. Thus, reportedly, plant managers have been told that a labor shortage, for instance in the harvest assignment, may not be justified or excused with the absence of personnel of German descent having left the Soviet Union.

What caused concern among the people of German origin was the announcement that the family reunion in the present form might be concluded by the Soviet Union in early 1981. These rumors spread by the intelligence service

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reportedly are based on considerations to conclude with the Federal Republic an agreement on the future family reunion. The repatriation agreement of 1958 is considered obsolete. Circles of the Soviet intelligence service further are said to have reported that the Soviet Union is also interested in an expanded family reunion in the event of a contractual agreement with the Federal Republic. So far only the closest relatives, as a rule married couples, parents, children, and brothers and sisters have been allowed to leave the country.

In this connection there is talk of financial payments expected from Bonn. In this even the Federal Republic would be facing demands in the amount of billions, which the federal government--it asked--certainly would deny, if only because it does not want to be disturbed in preliminary talks on such a ticklish issue.

An extended family reunion would even increase the number of applicants. According to the findings of the stuttgart "land group of the Germans from Russia", more than 10,000 separated families had applied for family reunion in 1974. Reportedly the German Red Cross has now received about 65,000 applications.

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BOOK DISCUSSES SOVIET THOUGHT ON EASTERN WORLD

Moscow SOVREMENNYI Natsionalizm i orshchestvennoye razvitiye zarubezhnogo Vostoka (CONTEMPORARY NATIONALISM AND THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOREIGN EAST) in Russian 1978 signed to press 3 Mar 78 pp 2, 3, 1, 328, 4-6, 301-315

[Annotation, Table of Contents and excerpts from book edited by A. B. Belen'kiy and L. R. Polonskaya, Nauka, 2,400 copies, 328 pages]

[Excerpts] The collective monograph is an attempt to subject to theoretical analysis the contemporary evolution of nationalism in the countries of the foreign East, as well as various sides and aspects of nationalism in their association with the basic problems of the social development of these countries.

Table of Contents	Page
Foreword.....	5
Part I. Nationalism and Ideological Demarcation in the Developing Countries	
Chapter I. The Characteristic Features of the Evolution of Nationalism in the Countries of the East.....	7
Chapter II. Contemporary Revolutionary-Democratic Theories of Socialism and Their Role in the Social Progress of the Developing Nations.....	61
Chapter III. Nationalism in Official Ideologies.....	86
Chapter IV. Nationalism and the Ideology of Maoism.....	116
Chapter V. Western Bourgeois Sociology and Nationalism in the Countries of the East.....	144
Part II. Nationalistic Ideology and the Problems of Overcoming Backwardness	
Chapter VI. Nationalism and the Overcoming of Backwardness.....	176
Chapter VII. Nationalism and Problems of Scientific- Technical Progress.....	195

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Chapter VIII. Nationalistic Ideology and the Problem of Traditions.....	219
Chapter IX. Religion in Nationalistic Concepts of Social Development.....	240
Chapter X. Language Policy and Nationalism in the Liberated Countries.....	283
Conclusion. Correlation of the Social and the National in Contemporary Ideologies of Countries of the East.....	300
Literature.....	316

Foreword

The characteristic feature of the modern epoch is the growing role of the ideological struggle in the world arena. As General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev remarked in the report to the 25th party congress, "The positive changes in world politics, and detente, create favorable opportunities for broadly spreading the ideas of socialism. But, on the other hand, the ideological confrontation of the two systems is becoming more active, and imperialist propaganda more keen."¹

The ideological struggle in the countries of the foreign East is an important part of the universal ideological struggle. In this connection, the questions of the contemporary role and the evolution of the ideology of nationalism in the liberated countries of Asia and Africa have taken on special significance. Today, when the overwhelming majority of the former colonies have won their political independence, when the problem of the choice of the path for further socioeconomic development arose for their people, and the class struggle has noticeably intensified, the role of the progressive elements in bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nations and the developing nations becomes narrower, while the role of the reactionary elements is growing. The exploiting classes are striving to utilize nationalism to put down the class struggle with the help of the advocates of "national unity"; whereas in a number of countries of the East they are able to hold back a rather broad section of the working people under the influence of these slogans.

Under these conditions, Marxist-Leninists supporting the popular-democratic anti-imperialist tendency of nationalism in the countries of the East are at the same time taking into consideration the fact that the ideology of the reactionary exploiting sections of society, which are connected with imperialism, can be expressed in nationalism also. Nationalist slogans can change their purposefulness, and can be transformed from weapons of the struggle for national liberation, into a means for dividing the anti-imperialist forces. At the same time it would not be correct to underestimate the anti-imperialist potential which nationalism still retains in a number of developing nations. Thus, contemporary nationalism in the new nations is a phenomenon both complex and contradictory.

¹Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress, Moscow, 1976, p 74.

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The authors of the current collective monograph have undertaken to put to theoretical analysis both the contemporary evolution of nationalism in the countries of the foreign East and the various aspects and features of nationalism in their connection with the basic problems of the social development of these countries as well.

The monograph represents the first in the series, "Paths of Development of the Liberated Countries of the East," which includes works on the contemporary problems of the developing nations and works in preparation by the Department of General Problems of the Contemporary Development of the Countries of Asia and North Africa, of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the AN USSR. It consists of two parts. In the first part, the position of nationalism in the contemporary ideological demarcation and in the ideological struggle in the East, is examined. Special attention is given in the monograph to the ideology of the revolutionary democrats; which, while it is not nationalism itself, bears the stamp of the influence of nationalistic slogans and concepts. The second part is dedicated to the approach of nationalism to the problems of overcoming economic and scientific-technical backwardness in the countries of the East, its relationship to the traditional ideas and norms, and to the position of religion in the nationalistic conception of social development.

* * *

Chapter I was written by A. D. Litman; Chapter II by A. S. Kaufman; Chapter III by L. R. Polonskaya; Chapter IV by L. P. Delyusin and L. S. Kyuzadzhyan; Chapter V by A. G. Bel'skiy; Chapter VI by N. A. Simoniya; Chapter VII by A. Kh. Vafa and M. A. Mikhaylov; Chapter VIII by A. Kh. Vafa and L. R. Polonskaya; Chapter IX by A. I. Ionova, V. I. Kornev and L. R. Polonskaya; and Chapter X by L. B. Nikol'skiy. The conclusion was written by Associate Members of the AN USSR G. F. Kim and L. R. Polonskaya.

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CORRELATION OF THE SOCIAL AND THE NATIONAL IN CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGIES OF COUNTRIES OF THE EAST

[Conclusion by G. F. Kim and L. R. Polonskaya, Institute for Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences]

The problem of defining the current stage of national liberation revolutions and the prospects for future development of the countries of the East which have passed through the epoch of colonial slavery is of paramount importance to the world Communist movement, and has riveted the attention of Marxist scholars to its study. In this connection, special significance accrues to the study of the basic ideological currents of the countries of Asia and Africa, which reflect the ideas of the various social and political forces in these countries on methods of overcoming backwardness and actual inequality, the struggle for economic independence, and the

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strengthening of the national state. Although these ideological currents bear a primarily nationalistic character, they bear witness to the serious changes with respect to the foreign (international) and domestic (national) factors of the social and national aspects of the revolution.

The international aspect of the concept of social development is defined in the close union of the international workers' and Communist movements with the anti-imperialist forces of the developing countries of the east. But the relationship to the nationalistic ideological tendencies at the level of an individual country depends upon their social purpose; upon what is foremost, a truly national relationship, or nationalistic narrow-minded self-realization.

The new alignment of the national and the social in contemporary socio-political ideas in the developing nations is manifested first of all in the fact that bourgeois nationalism is not so widespread as nationalistic ideological tendencies which express the refraction of national self-consciousness through the prism of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and other non-proletarian social groups.

Theories of social development differ, according to their form—religious or secular, and according to their social purposes—which are socially homogeneous, and represent the interests either of separate bourgeois or petty bourgeois groups of the population, or the non-proletarian working sections of society; also represented are complex strivings which combine bourgeois and petty bourgeois features, or which reflect both the natural strivings of the non-proletarian working groups and the influence of proletarian ideology. With respect to content, in all concepts of social development, it is colored by nationalistic feelings. The difference lies in the fact that the duality of the nationalism of the oppressed nations and its popular-democratic anti-imperialist currents (insofar as actual inequality and economic dependency are not overcome), and its class narrow-mindedness is far from equally retained and manifested.

The ever-growing spread of the principles of socialist internationalism furnishes new content to the correlation of national and international factors in the ideology of the national liberation movement. In witness to this, an ever-greater number of the foremost people in the liberated countries understand that expanding cooperation with the socialist countries is not determined by considerations of market prices, but by the commonality of the basic long-term interests and aspirations of world socialism and the national liberation movement. "The principles of internationalism require us to support nationalism in its struggle against colonialism, but at the same time to speak out against nationalism if it is directed against the USSR... The problems of the revolutionary struggle are so closely interwoven, that not a single important question concerning any country at all can be solved on a narrow, parochial, national basis. Life itself forces the working masses to pass through the school of proletarian internationalism," stressed General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party Khaled Bagdash in his articles and speeches [7, 84].

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More favorable objective and subjective prerequisites for inculcating social thought in the developing nations with the principles of socialist internationalism are being created in proportion to the growth of the national liberation movement into a struggle against all types of exploitation and oppression. Scientific socialism is becoming the most important international factor in the process of formation of revolutionary social thought.

The new correlation between the operation of internal and external factors, the national and the socialist elements, inevitably leads to the formation of principally new traits in the national liberation movement. Contemporary revolutions of national liberation, being a manifestation of a new historic epoch—the epoch of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, by its scale, its motive forces, and its political and social aims differs in principle from the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past, and represents a revolution of a new type.

The new stage of national liberation revolutions, which is connected with intensification of the social aspects and choice of the paths of development, introduces changes in the arrangement of social and class forces. Whereas the interests of the various classes and social strata coincided in the anti-imperialist unity in the period of common national struggle for state sovereignty, today one can speak of the increasing acuity of class contradictions, which leads to demarcation of social forces and their further polarization. Although common national motives are still preserved to a certain extent, at least in some countries, and are intertwined with social and class aspirations, the latter are more and more coming to the foreground, which finds direct expression in the ideologies of social development.

At the present time, the class struggle is deployed between: monopolistic and other reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie, and landowners, either the traditional feudalistic and the feudal-patriarchal forces (which are to one degree or another associated with imperialism) on the one hand; and the proletarians, semi-proletarians, middle and other petty bourgeois strata of society, and also those groups of national bourgeois which still retain their progressive potential, on the other.

The basic directions of the ideological-political struggle in the 1960's and 70's bear witness to the fact that under the new conditions, in a number of cases, the national and social aspects of the revolution are opposed to one another, which is manifested in various ways in the different ideological currents. Strengthening the social aspect of the bourgeois ideological currents, in the final analysis, means that an ever greater number of questions are treated therein from narrow class positions, from the point of view of the egotistical interests of separate groups of the bourgeoisie, and consequently, nationalistic narrow-mindedness grows and the features of nationalism in the oppressed nations are lost. Although correct on the whole, posing the question thus is not sufficient for defining the essence of bourgeois nationalism and its position in the theories of social development, insofar as the correlation of the national, the social and the international are not the same

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in different bourgeois currents. One must not fail to take into consideration the fact, that a number of bourgeois concepts of social development which reflect primarily the interests of the middle and lowest business undertakings retain the **popular**-democratic approach to the solution of national problems.

With the influence of the ideas of socialist internationalism, similar conceptions consider cooperation of the developing countries with the countries of the socialist camp, and unity in the anti-imperialist struggle, to be objective necessities. In the 1970's, both western scholars and ideologues of the liberated countries themselves are paying more and more attention to these anti-imperialistic aspects of the theories of the social development of the nationalists of the developing countries. Certain so-called liberal bourgeois official ideologies demonstrate a striving for overcoming nationalistic narrow-mindedness while seeking solutions to problems of the anti-imperialistic struggle, economic growth and the struggle with poverty, declaring the expedience of taking the experience of the socialist countries into consideration.

And although in these cases the subject, naturally, is not the changes in the relationship of the separate groups of the bourgeoisie to the philosophy of scientific socialism, but their interest in the end result of socialist construction in the matter of overcoming economic backwardness, the very fact of appealing to the experience of the socialist countries bears witness to the changes in the correlations between the national and the international factors in working out models for social development.

Nationalistic narrow-mindedness is displayed to a significantly greater degree in the bourgeois-conservative ideological currents, which are trying to combine an exaggeration of national specific character with an appeal to the bourgeois models of the West. And what is more, attempts are being made to represent this appeal to the models of the West as genuine internationalism, which is opposed to socialist internationalism.

As far as the petty bourgeois currents are concerned, the strengthening of their social aspects signifies in some cases growth of nationalistic narrow-mindedness and the overcoming of the reactionary petty bourgeois approach to the problems of social development (right wing petty bourgeois ideological currents); in other cases, it signifies strengthening of the elements of revolutionary populism and the overcoming of the popular-democratic approach to the solution of national problems of social development. The change in the correlations between national and social consciousness, between the national and international factors in the petty bourgeois ideological currents is manifested upon treating the problems of overcoming economic backwardness, the creation of a new type of statehood, and the struggle with poverty. At the same time, the severity and complexity of social conflicts is determined not only by the fact that the activity of the working masses grew significantly under the conditions of political independence, but also by the fact that the formation of new classes and social groups is taking place.

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The growth of class consciousness of the working people directly affects the correlation of national and international factors in the social thought of the developing nations. As is well known, the creation and development of national industry, which is taking place in the majority of the countries of Asia and Africa, and the influence of the scientific-technical revolution, are conducive to the numerical growth of a national proletariat; but quite a number of factors makes formation of the working class as a class by itself difficult. The contacts which a significant part of the workers retain with the countryside, recruitment of the most-skilled working group from the shattered feudal families and the urban petty bourgeois group of society, are conducive to introducing to the working environment a private-ownership, nationalistic, petty bourgeois ideology and psychology. And the lack of a workers' party in a number of countries hinders the organization of proletarian internationalism.

The processes of class formation taking place in the countryside have a direct influence on the correlation of the national and social factors in the social thought of the developing countries. Although the character of the peasant movement bears witness to the fact that the peasantry is still under the strong influence of traditional religious conceptions and institutions; nevertheless, the differences in the positions of the peasant-workers and the semi-proletarians on the one hand, and the small rural businessmen on the other are manifested more and more fully. Witness to this fact is the appearance of political and ideological currents which reflect the interests of the working peasantry first of all, as a counter-balance to the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. The working strata of the peasants, just as the non-proletarian working strata of the city are, after the proletariat, the most receptive to the ideas of socialist internationalism and the most hostile to the bourgeois influence of the West. The practice of the 1960's and 70's showed that the rural semi-proletariat and the working peasantry comprise the social support of the revolutionary-democratic parties, the ideological purpose of which is reflected by the many peculiarities of the social psychology of these non-proletarian working strata.

The formation of the ideological conceptions of the different social strata does not coincide with the formation of class-consciousness. These ideological concepts either reflect the interests of the different groups of an already completely formed class, or uniquely combine the traditions which differ according to class currents, reflecting the unfinished, incomplete state of the process of class formation in the developing societies. The latter is, namely, what is characteristic for the ideological currents of the non-proletarian working strata. The nationalistic character of their concepts of the paths and future prospects for social development in their country is to a great extent a result of the fact that the process of social and ideological separation of the semi-proletarians from the petty bourgeoisie and the uniting of all of the working strata with the working class is still far from finished.

Under the conditions of the incomplete process of class demarcation, the positions of the intelligentsia are especially important to the determination of the position of nationalism in the theories of social development, since

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it is from among the intelligentsia that the authors of these theories come. Without a doubt, in the developing countries as everywhere, the intelligentsia, in the words of Lenin, "In all ways more consciously, more decisively, and more accurately reflects the development of the class interests and the political groupings in the entire society" [2, 343]. Its ideologues appear as representatives of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and of the semi-proletarian working strata on the other. However, as has been noted repeatedly in a number of works, during the last decades the role of the intelligentsia as a special social stratum of the developing nation has grown significantly. In this connection, the instruction of Lenin concerning the intelligentsiya takes on a special significance, as concerns a "new middle class," which finds it harder and harder to live in a capitalist society [1, 213] and which, "under the conditions of rapprochement with the people," [3, 199] can become a prominent force in the struggle against not only feudal but also against bourgeois reaction. It is just in the different petty-bourgeois ideological currents that the mood of the intelligentsia itself receives the most complete expression, as the "unconscious blending of democratic and primitive socialist ideas" [2, 345]. Moreover, the nature of the influence of socialist internationalism on the intelligentsia has profoundly changed. The bourgeois values of the West are gradually losing their former significance in the eyes of many of its representatives, but the attractive force of socialist ideals is growing.

At the very same time, in order to understand the theory and practice of the contemporary national-liberation revolutions it is necessary to consider, that the intelligentsia in its essence is nationalistically-minded, whereas the traditional impressions engendered by their pre-colonial, pre-bourgeois and colonial past continues to play an enormous role in its social psychology, just as in the social psychology of the petty bourgeoisie and the non-proletarian working strata. In these conditions the very searches for alternatives to the bourgeois course for social development and attempts to adapt socialist ideals to a national specific character frequently do not go beyond the limits of a "third course" for development, and become "locked up" in national traditions.

The emphasis on the national-specific character is typical for many petty-bourgeois nationalists and ideologues of non-proletarian working strata of society, and it has not been completely eliminated in certain revolutionary-democratic theories either. Highly indicative in this respect are statements such as, "National independence is not only an act of political and economic liberation, but also a rebirth of national identity; the very national identity gives to independence its substance and imparts action to it" [8].

Self-assertion by way of the past, and searches for one's own national individuality in the socioeconomic institutions and customs of one's country are, in "national character," and above all in historic traditions, the characteristic features of the overwhelming majority of the contemporary concepts of social development. This is admitted by the ideologues of the developing countries themselves, and by many foreign scholars of their social thought [9, pp 45-46, 55, 137 and following]. As the events of the 1960's and 70's

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continually convince us, popular support in the countries of the East utilizes primarily those social and political doctrines which manifest sufficient concern for the traditional, including the religious and social institutions and ideas. And in those cases when adherence to traditions, which comprises an integral part of the social psychology of the peasantry and other non-proletarian sections of society, and the national specific character, are not considered to a sufficient degree, the political teachings and programs, including those which include objectively progressive requirements, might not win popular support, or might unexpectedly, at first glance, lose it (A vivid example of this was the events in Pakistan and the results of the latest elections in India). As one of the Indian Marxist scholars correctly pointed out in the pages of a collection of works dedicated to the memory of M. K. Gandhi, "National nihilism of itself only plays into the hands of the cheauvanists and reactionaries. The latter can be isolated, and they might be dealt a blow only when the Left and the Communist movement are firmly united at the roots with the very heart of the life of India" [10, 72].

No less dangerous, however, is the idealization of tradition. Whereas at earlier stages of development such idealization was related primarily to the feudal and semi-feudal so-called traditional ideological currents, bourgeois nationalism was distinguished by a differentiated relationship to traditions and it became firmly established upon the destruction of the old traditional ideas (tribal, patriarchal, commercial, and purely feudal); under the new conditions bourgeois nationalism is in many respects losing these, its traditional functions. Although capitalism, in the developing countries of the East, has not yet fulfilled its role in the matter of the destruction of pre-feudal and feudal production relationships, of social institutions and stereotypic thinking, with the appearance of socialist prospects for development this role is changing profoundly, insofar as, in the final analysis the line of development is determined by the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Trying to establish the possibility of a "third path" in social relationships and social consciousness which differs both from capitalism and from socialism, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologues are advancing "national specific character" to first place, and this, in turn leads inevitably to denial of the differentiated relationship toward traditions and their idealization.

The problem of a creative relationship to one's national tradition and a differentiated relationship to tradition in general takes on paramount significance for working out the theory and practice of social development. Insofar as, in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories the national specific character is placed in the primary position, this or that form of idealization of tradition is inevitable. Exaggeration and absolutizing of the national specific character lead to the growth of nationalistic narrow-mindedness in the theory and practice of the development of society, and make it more difficult for the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism. Public figures in the communist movement in the developing countries themselves repeatedly devoted their attention to these conditions. For example, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party Khaled Bagdash has often emphasized that, "The negative aspects of nationalism manifest themselves after liberation of the country from imperialist dominion, in a more powerful form than before liberation" [7, 83].

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One cannot help but consider also the conscious striving of Reaction to utilize various conservative, and above all religious, traditions for distracting the peasant and petty-bourgeois urban strata of society from the class struggle and directing their activities against democratic actions, not only of the revolutionary-democratic but also of the national-bourgeois governments (of which the events of the 1970's in Pakistan and Bangladesh bear witness). Furthermore, the forces of nationalistic reaction are actively striving to impede the influence of proletarian internationalism, replacing its slogans with slogans of "religious unity," traditional communality of the "colored peoples" and such similar pseudo-internationalistic ideas.

In the 1960's and 70's, this situation and the peculiarities of internal development as well, led to the idea that an allegedly new method of treating internationalism was needed; this idea became widespread in the various right-reformist and left-extremist theories for social development. Arguments in favor of this were based on Maoist convictions on the idea that the fundamental contradiction of the epoch is not the contradiction between the forces of imperialism and reaction and the forces of socialism and progress, but between the developed and developing countries without regard to their social orientation, as a result of which the previous basis for unity of socialism and the workers' or communist movement with the national-liberation movement allegedly does not exist. Thus, in this case also, one is counting on that very nationalistic narrow-mindedness of the social consciousness of the developing countries. And this in turn inevitably leads to the situation in which the positions of imperialism and that of the right and left-extremist elements in the countries of Asia and Africa are becoming ever closer on this question.

The change in the correlation of the social and the national in the various nationalistic theories for social development brings about the necessity for a new criterion for bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism and the national-liberation revolution as a whole. Whereas in the preceding stages this criterion depended upon the participation of popular forces in the struggle for political independence and on the determining of paths and methods in this struggle, now it depends the orientation toward the capitalist or socialist path for social development, and on the relationship to the capitalist and socialist systems as a whole. Revolutions in the period of struggle for political independence were primarily bourgeois-democratic, anti-imperialistic, national-liberation revolutions. Additionally, nationalism, which comprises the substance of all bourgeois revolutionary teachings, became a popular ideology, which has stirred up wide sections of the working people to the revolutionary struggle for creating independent national states.

In modern conditions the anti-imperialistic national-democratic peoples' revolutions are becoming the main type from the point of view of the prospects for social development. Modern revolutionary theories for social development retain their nationalistic slant, but this is primarily petty-bourgeois nationalism (although this by no means signifies that bourgeois nationalism has already departed the scene).

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Theories for social development of this type have great popular-revolutionary possibilities which have not yet been used up, and reflect the national popular-democratic and social interests of the broad popular coalitions—from laboring sections of society to separate groups of the middle and lower national entrepreneurs—while experiencing the ever-growing influence of socialist internationalism.

In today's conditions a national-democratic revolution can appear as one of the forms of development of a revolution of national liberation into a socialist revolution. In practical terms, this is manifested in the non-capitalist path for development or in carrying out policies of a socialist orientation. At the same time the national-democratic revolution, the chief attribute of which consists of solving the problems which create conditions for the change to socialism which follows, does not yet cease to be a national-liberation revolution, being its highest stage. Considering the general socioeconomic backwardness, and the weakness of the proletariat and his political organizations in the majority of the afro-asian countries, one can assume that a national-democratic revolution can occupy a historically large interval of time.

It is only in the course of the national-democratic revolution itself that its ideological-political and socioeconomic ideological purposes are worked out. The fundamental economic indications of the deepening of the socioeconomic character of a national-liberation revolution, in our opinion, are: elimination or drastically weakening the positions of foreign capital in all spheres of the economy (which of course does not signify refusing economic relations with western capitalist nations or the lack of equality); significant reduction of the sphere of activity of national capital (especially large-scale) and putting it under state control; creation of a democratic state sector and making it into the leading economic way of life; cooperation of the small producers of the city and the countryside; and conducting social activities for the good of the workers of the city and the countryside. We would ascribe to a national-democratic revolution the following political indications: creation of democratic political institutions, including the advance guard of a national patriotic party and a popular workers' organization; and attracting the masses to some degree to direct participation in the solution of economic and political problems.

The foreign political orientation has a special position among the signs of a national-democratic revolution. Only a course for union with world socialism can assure the successful development of a national-democratic revolution. Violation of this condition inevitably leads to loss of revolutionary positions.

In determining the future prospects for deepening the social content of anti-imperialist national-democratic revolutions, expansion of the class struggle and change of the coorelationships between petty-bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism, it is necessary to recall the instructions of Lenin, who in the debate with those who considered the demand for independence of the peoples in the colonies impracticable, wrote that it is "impractical without a series of revolutions," and "unsound without socialism" (emphasis ours—the authors).

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Determining the class-basis of political power in countries with a socialist orientation presents a special difficulty. In order to do this, a thorough analysis of the social nature of the societies in question, and particularly of the bureaucracies, is necessary. The important role of the party-political and the administrative bureaucracies in certain countries with a socialist orientation and their relative independence permits the ruling circles of such countries to carry out a more or less flexible policy of social maneuvering. However, this complex phenomenon need not lead to a dead end. Such a type of power by no means bears a characteristic transcending classes, for it reflects first of all the interests of the non-proletarian working strata of society and the petty bourgeoisie.

A national democratic revolution can provide differing variations of development. If its leadership falls into the hands of the succeeding revolutionary democrats, the variation of non-capitalist development is at hand; if the revolutionary leadership remains in the hands of the national revolutionaries, in which environment either demarcation to petty-bourgeois nationalists and genuine revolutionary democrats occurs, or a stable equilibrium is maintained between those and others, then a kind of intermediate variation arises, which leads to emphasis on the popular-national tasks of economic and cultural work (and in accordance with this or subordination to "national discipline" of any class interests) in domestic policy, to sharply expressed demonstrative neutrality in foreign policy (the so-called theory of "equal distance from super-powers").

National-democratic revolutions are least of all distinguished for irreversibility, stability, and firm character. The quality of transition itself is related to revolutions; And their ability to evolve to the left and to the right predetermines the dynamic of their "mutation," and the significant amplitude of fluctuation in social orientation, and their special sensitivity to the smallest changes in the correlation of class powers and to the most insignificant shift in the character of the leadership. Pathetic examples on this plane are the countries in which the national-democratic revolutions suffered defeat.

The course of development of national-democratic revolutions itself is a complex process of outgrowing the framework of popular-democratic tasks. This process takes place unequally and irregularly. Lenin, citing Engels' generalization of the experience of the revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, wrote in his time that, "There is evidently a law which requires a revolution to advance farther than it can manage, in order to make secure the less significant transformations" [5, 206].

Attracted by the general enthusiasm of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and infected by the successful examples of the neighboring afro-Asian peoples, certain revolutionary-democratic leaders would at times bring out extreme leftist and radical (from the point of view of the concrete historic conditions of their countries) slogans and programs, trying by administrative means to force the realization of the latter. Such an approach inevitably leads to the most

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radical contradiction of the objective requirements for securing the basic political achievements: stabilization of the internal situation and systematic construction aimed at reestablishing the national economy, and achieving economic self-sufficiency; intensification of the social content of the process of revolutionary reorganization, codimensional with the real capabilities; etc. Scorn for the stated problems and abuse, by methods of unadorned orders and decrees, led to growth of a profound economic and, in turn, political crisis.

Lenin repeatedly stressed, that in the ranks of revolutionary democracy the estrangement of the proletarian and semi-proletarian from the petty bourgeoisie is inevitable, but it is possible that, "Cohesion of the proprietary elements of the revolutionary bloc will lead to the point where it will overcome the organization of the masses around the proletarian slogans" [4, 246]. This important instruction should guide marxist-leninists toward extremely flexible tactics. On the one hand, it is impossible to artificially force this process. On the other, the forms and methods of consolidating all the progressive forces within the framework of national-democratic fronts, the basis of which consists of cooperation of Communists and revolutionary democrats, take on great significance.

Such progressive fronts are still in the process of creation; therefore, in the theoretical-political scheme many of their aspects are not yet clear, have not met the test of time and, evidently, will be suggested by the practical revolutionary work itself. Candidate Member of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party Abdul Khaba gives the following description of the national-democratic front of Iraq as an example: "The truly distinguishing feature of the present front, as compared to the preceding ones, is the fact that it unites the national efforts with the social reforms. The social forces on which the present front is based are: the working class; the peasantry; the petty urban bourgeoisie, and the progressive stratum of the middle bourgeoisie; that is, the classes and strata of society whose interests are connected with the development of Iraq along a non-capitalistic path." Noting the hopeful prospects of this front, Abdul Khaba stresses, that for realizing these prospects, expansion of the still-insufficient popular base of the front is necessary, "especially among the workers, peasants, students, and women" [6].

The nature of the evolution of revolutionary-democratic regimes depends to a great extent upon their ideological platform. The various theories of "national socialism" which became the most widespread as new national ideologies in Asia and Africa in the 1960's, reflect not only petty-bourgeois nationalist ideas, but also the interests of the broad working stratum of the population. Many of these doctrines bear witness still of the inability (objective and subjective) of their authors to accept the ideology of scientific socialism fully at the present stage, and above all its main idea of the leading role of the working class. At the same time, in the theories of the "national socialisms," one finds also reflection of really progressive ideas. Revolutionary democrats are enlisting the services of many socialist principles, the realization of which they see as the most effective means for economic progress.

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This creates a favorable ideological climate for the development of progressive social thought in the direction of scientific socialism, and the possibility for the gradual overcoming of nationalistic narrow-mindedness and the habitual anticommunists. Cooperation of revolutionary democrats with the international Communist movement is destined to play an important role in the overcoming of eclectic schemes and formation of scientific socialist views in the ideology of national-democratic revolutions.

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GVISHIANI* REVIEWS WORK OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF APPLIED SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

Moscow BUDUSHCHEYE NAUKI [THE FUTURE OF SCIENCE] in Russian 1978 signed to press 2 Mar 78 pp 266-275

[Excerpt from the book "Budushcheye nauki" edited by Ye. B. Etingof]

[Excerpt] In the course of the scientific-technical revolution contemporary society is encountering problems which are fundamentally new, complex by their very nature and global in character. The profound and radical changes in science, technology and production; the tremendously larger scale of social production; the constantly growing impact of man on the environment he inhabits; the unprecedented opportunities for improving human welfare created by the growth of the productive forces, and so on--all of this is accompanied by a whole series of consequences both good and bad.

Many of the acute problems affecting dozens of countries and nations can be solved only by means of a fruitful combination of their good will, scientific-technical potential and sizable material and human resources. "Even now," L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC CPSU, said at the 25th party congress, "such global problems as the raw materials or energy problem, the liquidation of the most dangerous and widespread diseases and protection of the environment, the conquest of space and use of the resources of the oceans are rather important and relevant problems. In future they will have an increasingly noticeable impact on the life of every nation and on the entire system of international relations. Our country, like the

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other socialist countries, cannot stand aloof from the solution of these problems, which touch upon the interests of all humanity."*

The socioeconomic and scientific-technical prerequisites for a joining of the efforts of different countries in solving these problems can be embodied in real projects and programs only in the context of a relaxation of international tension and establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Favorable changes have occurred in the world political climate thanks to the direct impact of the Peace Program being carried out by the USSR and the unswerving orientation of the Communist Party and Soviet government toward international cooperation, which now has also been set forth in the new USSR Constitution.

Unification of the scientific capabilities and potential of many countries in work on the large-scale problems of our time require that level of development of society's productive forces and the kind of surge of science and technology which have occurred only thanks to the scientific-technical revolution. It is in the age of the scientific-technical revolution that scientific-technical awareness of the laws of nature and society, technology (the combination of the physical means and know-how of transforming nature), production (the process of creating material goods), and management (a method of rational integration of effective practical actions to achieve the goals desired) have been transformed into elements of a unified system. As they merge in a unified and interrelated complex, science, technology, production and management are giving birth to instruments of tremendous capability for transforming the world and for solving humanity's most urgent problems.

The emergence of an absolutely new class of problems whose solution requires comprehensive analysis, long-range forecasting, quantitative evaluations of goals and of the means of achieving them, coordination of the efforts of specialists in different disciplines, and so on, has put on the agenda the question of a fundamentally new approach in solving them. This approach is systems analysis, otherwise termed systems methodology, which has absorbed the most recent achievements of scientific fields that have come into being in recent decades: operations research, information theory, cybernetics, decision theory, organization theory, automatic control theory, etc. Systems methodology, which combines not only quantitative, but also qualitative methods, facilitates the rational formulation, structuring and solving of a problem using the available resources. Systems analysis can be regarded as the most universal method of solving global problems characterized by their complexity and indefiniteness.

The International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis [ISA] was set up in 1972 at the initiative of the USSR and the United States in order to solve such problems; at the invitation of the Austrian government it was located 15 km south of Vienna in Luxemburg Castle. The period when it came into

* "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], p 56.

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being coincided in time with the preparatory stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The institute is a brilliant example of implementation of the principles of relations among states which were later set forth in the conference's final communique. Most of the member-organizations of ISA are representatives of the states which participated in the conference. A sizable portion of the research conducted by the institute coincides with the directions outlined in the final communique as specific fields of cooperation in the domain of science and technology. These are the problems of fuel and energy, optimum use of resources, medicine, health care, environmental protection, etc.; effectiveness in solving them depends, of course, on success in the continuing struggle for peace and international cooperation, for controlling the arms race, and for strengthening the political detente and for giving it material substance.

ISA represents a new type of scientific organization both with respect to the problem area it works in and also from the organizational standpoint. In accordance with its bylaws, the institute is a nongovernmental multilateral and autonomous scientific organization.

The term "applied" in the institute's name reflects its express orientation toward the practical solution of urgent problems confronting humanity. The list of ISA's research topics is clearly oriented toward the future. It is the institute's responsibility:

- i. to conduct and to support joint and individual research pertaining to the problems of the present arising as a result of scientific-technical development; to this end the institute is conducting its own methodological and applied projects in the interrelated fields of systems analysis, cybernetics, operations research and management techniques;
- ii. to stimulate and support national and international efforts in corresponding fields of study; to promote the growth of interest in research of that kind on the part of scientists of all countries and to attempt to improve their mutual understanding by creating uniform standards and terminology; the institute's work is open to all specialists in accordance with the customary practice of international scientific cooperation; it is endeavoring to attain the highest standards of science;
- iii. to serve the aims of peace exclusively.

In mid-1977 national organizations of 17 countries were members of ISA: the USSR, the United States, Austria, England, Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Italy, Canada, Poland, France, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Sweden, Finland and Holland.

The institute's international character makes it possible to pool the scientific achievements of many countries, to use them in making multilateral comparisons and assessments of results, to systematize the existing knowledge and on that basis to conduct methodological and applied research on

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problems which have international significance. The institute engages leading specialists of different countries to work together on a long-range basis, enjoys the support of numerous international and national organizations, and in turn extends aid to them. The creation of the institute has led to the emergence of an entire network of scientific organizations working on the problems of systems analysis and using systems methods of solving national problems.

The institute was created, but there was no experience in designing the operation of organizations of this kind. In drafting its first scientific program, therefore, the organizers strove to encompass a sufficiently broad range of problems so as to provide the basis for attracting to the institute scientists and specialists in different fields who would subsequently join efforts in interdisciplinary research.

A large number of specific scientific research topics were discovered thanks to numerous conferences among experts, and following their discussion and selection, they became part of ISA's first scientific research program, which consisted of nine lines of research (projects): 1) the methodology of systems analysis; 2) the design of large systems and their management; 3) ecological systems; 4) energy systems; 5) city and regional management systems; 6) water resources; 7) computer technology; 8) biological and medical systems; 9) integrated production management systems.

The results of the first 3 years of work were taken up by the ISA council in a session held in November 1975.

It was noted in the session that thanks to cooperation in ISA among scientists of many countries mathematical models were built and the corresponding programs compiled for forecasting development of the fuel and power industry, combined use of water resources, and management of municipal systems.

Recommendations concerning the new matrix structure for organizing the list of scientific topics, which was adopted in place of the previous system of independent projects, were first taken up by the council in that session. The matrix structure of ISA's scientific topic plan provides for related projects to be combined into consolidated fields of research. The following four basic research fields have been distinguished; they encompass most of the previous projects: 1) resources and the environment; 2) urban settlements and services; 3) management and technology; 4) the methodology of systems analysis. These fields of research remaining after consolidation are integrated through diverse research programs. Two kinds of programs were proposed as the basis for integration of the topic list: universal programs--for solving problems urgent for every country, and global problems--for solving problems common to all humanity.

A very important event in the institute's life--the first conference in its history--took place in May 1976. The ISA bylaws define the institute's conference as its basic forum for promoting fulfillment of the institute's programs, for linking those programs with the research of other national and

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international organizations, and also for providing the council and directorate broad scientific consultation. Distinguished representatives of world science, directors of major scientific institutions, officials of government agencies concerned with the affairs of science and technology, the environment, and so on, the heads of the scientific research sectors of major firms and other competent individuals took part in the proceedings of the conference.

In the first 3-year stage of the institute's activity scientific research was done separately along each of the nine directions listed. A sizable portion of the results obtained in that stage went to make up the scientific spadework that served as the basis for subsequent integration of the scientific topic plan. The energy project, which subsequently grew into a global program encompassing several fields of research has advanced furthest in that regard. The energy program which arose out of the energy project is the leading program within the institute's scientific topic plan with respect to the number of staff members working on it (about one-third of all ISA's staff scientists), with respect to the amount of research being done, and with respect to the results obtained. The topic list inherited from the energy project contains the following lines of research: energy resources; the energy requirement; possible new energy technology; constraints on development of energy systems; strategies for development of the fuel and power industry; and certain problems in carrying out long-range strategies.

National scientific organizations of most of the institute's member-countries have joined in work within the problem area of energy. They are using the ISA's work to frame their long-range policy for optimum utilization of domestic energy resources, and in addition they are collaborating on the problems of the future development of the fuel and power industry on a world scale. Unique results are expected from the method being developed in ISA for defining and comparing with respect to many criteria a strategy for development of the fuel and power industry of individual countries and regions.

The conception of "resilience"--the elasticity of biological communities--is now being developed in work on the dynamics of development of natural communities--ecological systems. The goal here is to determine the permissible levels of human impact on natural communities in the environment and to work out optimum variants of ecological policy. This is an international project being financed by UNEP (United Nations Environment Program). One other project in the ecological field--the use of mathematical models in planning forest conservation measures--was completed in 1976.

Development of the institute's computer network has taken on a significance of its own. This project, which mostly involves scientists and design organizations of the socialist countries, pursues two purposes: first, creation of a network of computers belonging to the computer centers of participating countries for their direct use in the process of systems research under the topic plan of the ISA whether being done within ISA itself or within national organizations; second, development of a forward-looking architecture

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of the network's software making it possible for it to be linked with computer networks operating in the participating countries.

Summarization of the know-how, structure and principles of managing large organizational systems relative to the example of two large regional projects in the USSR and the United States culminated in two representative conferences which were held to study the experience of comprehensive development of the Tennessee River Valley in the United States and creation of the Bratsk-Il'msk regional industrial complex in the USSR. The material resulting from the conferences, which has arrived in the USSR and other participating countries, has been sent to many USSR ministries and departments, where it has been applied, specifically in development of the program for development of the West Siberian petroleum region and the Baykal-Amur Trunk Rail Line. The line of scientific research entitled "Urban Settlements and Services" encompasses research on the earth's human resources. It includes examination of problems of demography, as well as the problems of organizing health care, education, transportation, communications and other services designed to meet human needs. Among these projects the greatest interest is in the topic "Comparative Study of Urban Emergency Medical Services and Computer-Controlled Municipal Transportation System," which was completed in 1976.

The biomedical group, which has been headed by Soviet specialists since the institute's founding, is conducting a project on the topic "Simulation of Optimum Health Care Systems." Results which have won international recognition have been achieved in this work.

The scientific field referred to as "Methodology of Systems Analysis," unlike other fields, is not oriented toward the objects of study, but toward development of a mathematical apparatus and computer programs for studying large systems and for forecasting the possible consequences of decisions taken in the process of managing such systems. The most interesting research within the methodology project is being done in the field of dynamic linear programming and is aimed at creating software for optimization of the management of complex systems.

Research being done in the institute itself is performed by staff scientists sent by their national organizations on a permanent or temporary basis. Every national organization which is a member is entitled to send at least one scientist to work in the ISA regardless of the size of its membership contributions. The director selects the candidates and hires staff scientists for work in the institute. The national institutions can recommend candidates or grant consent to enrollment of scientists from their countries in the ISA. Visiting staff scientists are enrolled to conduct specific research on a particular topic. They are accepted on the basis of the particular research they propose to conduct. In 1977 ISA's staff of permanent scientists did not exceed 70 persons.

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Creation of the ISA has encouraged the formation of national committees and other organizations for application of systems analysis so as to provide for broader use of systems methods in solving the problems of their respective countries. In this process the institute has played the role of a catalyst initiating development of systems research at the national level. As a rule these committees are working bodies of national academies of sciences, through which they participate in the activity of ISA. They discuss the ISA list of scientific topics and send their suggestions to the institute, they recommend or select scientists from their countries to be candidates for work in the ISA, and they coordinate the use by national organizations of research results achieved in the ISA.

In the USSR the Committee for Systems Analysis of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was formed in November 1972, is such a body.

The committee has ascertained the main scientific directions for development of work on systems analysis in the USSR, has built an organizational mechanism for the conduct of research, and has set up scientific councils for each of those lines of research.

The following scientific councils function in association with the Committee on Systems Analysis:

1. Methods and Means of Contemporary Systems Analysis;
2. Principles and Methods of Constructing Organizational Systems of Management;
3. Optimization and Management of Complex Dynamic Capabilities;
4. Integrated Systems for Management of Large-Scale Production;
5. Methods of Systems Analysis Used on Problems of Optimum Use of Energy and Energy Resources;
6. Methods of Systems Analysis Used on Problems of Optimum Utilization of Water Resources;
7. Management of the Development and Functioning of Cities and Cluster Systems of Settlements;
8. Ecological Systems and the Environment;
9. Systems Analysis in Biology and Medicine;
10. Computer Techniques and Computer Systems;
11. Man-Made Intellect;

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12. Application of the Methods of Systems Analysis to Automation of Project Planning;

13. Food and Agriculture.

Participation of national scientific organizations in the activity of the ISA is analogously coordinated, for example, by the United States National Academy of Sciences. An Advisory Committee on Participation in the ISA is associated with the academy. Within the committee there are four subcommittees for particular directions within systems analysis: energy systems, water resources, urban and regional systems, and review-reference publications.

In view of the objective need for further development in the USSR of interdisciplinary systems research on the ever more complicated problems of socioeconomic and scientific-technical development, the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences established in 1976 the VNIISI [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research] of the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The institute's principal aim is development of basic principles and methods of systems research and their application to solving complex and large-scale problems in economic development. The results of this research will be used in the practice of managing the economy and its individual parts and in the activity of ministries and departments and enterprises and associations. As research is done on specific problems which are comprehensive in nature the institute will cooperate in every way with leading Soviet scientific research institutes in the social sciences and the natural and engineering sciences.

One of the institute's most important tasks is to summarize foreign experience in the use of systems analysis to solve complicated interdisciplinary problems in management theory and methodology. The scientific relations with the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis will be developed for that purpose.

In the first 4 years of the ISA's existence it became established practice for the results at the end of work on each topic to be presented in the form of papers at an international conference specifically organized for that purpose. These conferences, in which leading scientists of the member-countries and representatives of organizations interested in the use of the results of the projects take part along with those from the ISA and national scientific organizations who actually took part in the projects, have become representative scientific forums enjoying considerable prestige in the scientific world. Interested persons and organizations have an opportunity to verify on the spot details which have fundamental significance, enter more deeply into the methods used, and familiarize themselves with the technical equipment used during the project. This makes for speedier practical application in the member-countries of the research results achieved in the ISA.

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The Committee for Systems Analysis of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences regularly receives the institute's publications and distributes them to its scientific councils depending on the specific subject. This makes it possible to disseminate information on the institute's work to a broader group of Soviet scientists working in various fields of systems research. This information is of the greatest interest to scientific organizations which are not taking direct part in the work of the ISA. For them the ISA publications are an effective means of bringing them closer to the activity of the institute and for popularizing its activity throughout broad circles within the country's scientific community. This helps to arouse more interest in the projects of the institute, to invigorate the activity of the Committee for Systems Analysis and to expand the membership of its scientific councils.

Certain research results of the ISA have already been applied directly in the projects of Soviet scientists. For instance, a method of mathematical simulation proposed by Canadian scientists, which makes it possible to forecast development of insect populations in relation to various external impacts, was the basis for working out an optimum strategy for controlling insect pests of Soviet forests. The 13-year experience of working to regulate the numbers of pests of conifers in Canadian forests (instead of futile attempts to completely eradicate them) has won high praise from Soviet silviculturists, who have been using this method to develop their own optimum strategy for controlling pests of oak trees. In addition to success in solving the main problem--forest conservation, there has been a substantial saving on chemical poisons and a corresponding reduction of pressure on the ecological community of the forest and on the environment. The interests of Soviet scientists in an original method of solving an urgent problem grew into creative cooperation between scientific organizations of the Soviet Union and the staff of the ISA's ecological project, and this was reflected in an ISA international conference held on this problem in late October 1976.

A highly interesting review summarizing the experience of a number of leading firms of Japan, the United States, England and Belgium in the field of development and application of systems for management of organizational processes and control of manufacturing processes in the steel founding industry has been used in the head project planning organizations and at enterprises of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of Instrumentmaking, Automation Equipment and Control Systems--specifically in modification of the technology for continuous hot rolling of strip on the "1700" mill of the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine. Materials on standards obtained from the ISA have helped the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy in devising industrywide standards and principles for expert evaluation which are being used in creating industrywide designs of computerized systems for production management.

The participation of Soviet specialists in the activity of the ISA, their papers and communications published in English, the results of their research done both in the USSR and as part of the international scientific

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team--all of this is unquestionably furthering the dissemination and foreign recognition of the achievements of Soviet science. For example, the dialog logical system for communication between the operator and the computer, which was created by Soviet scientists, has aroused widespread interest on the part of their foreign colleagues and is already being used for information support of the energy program.

We should emphasize in conclusion that the 4-year activity of the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis has demonstrated the potential not only of systems analysis, but also of this form of international cooperation in solving large-scale problems common to all humanity.

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